1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

595 an economic asset. If there should be two or more women in the family, one of whom is married and the other just kept, their respective rights were said to depend solely upon the will of the husband and it was not admitted that any of them had greater rights than the others. Their children have equal rights and no discrimination is made between them. If the wife is barren and the other has sons, the property upon his death reverts to the sons. If both "wives" have sons it is divided at death according to the husband's expressed wish or by a decision of the *panchayat*.

[428]

We did not find much sexual laxity among the Kols; but the Hindus assert, whether from knowledge or prejudice it is hard to say, that the sexual relations of the Kols are very loose. A Malguzar reported that in some villages under his jurisdiction where Kols happened to be in the majority he knew of at least one case of a Kol woman having several husbands, a sort of polyandry, and that the men frequently exchanged wives.

[834]

[837]

Divorce. It is not uncommon for a man and his wife to separate but as long as this separation is not sanctioned by the *panchayat* it involves certain disabilities. The *panchayat* never takes the initiative nor does it advise or suggest divorce—rather the opposite—but it has to act if the separation is to have official sanction. The usual grounds for separation and divorce are:

586 623 692

1. Sterility of the wife
2. Sexual unchastity of either
3. Quarrelsomeness in the home
4. Laziness resulting in the neglect of household duties and support of the family
5. Any tendencies such as thievery, frequent absences from home without apparent reasons, and the like

There are numerous variations in the process of securing this separation. It is usually considered more difficult for a man to get rid of his wife than it is for the wife to get rid of her husband. The matter is first officially brought to the attention of the local *panchayat* by either of the aggrieved parties. In some cases the local *panch* has full authority, but in Maihar State we found that if, after investigation, the local *panch* thought there was a good case for divorce, the matter is referred to an intercaste *panchayat*; one which should include members from seven different groups or castes. This seems to be an exception, and when asked what castes could act together they mentioned only three: Kol, Kurmi and Chamar.

[184 564]

l:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

is the family, but the wife is in no sense his slave and plays a large part in its control and management. All affairs are brought before the family for discussion and decision before final action is taken. If one party is not agreeable to a certain proposition the other tries by coaxing or by some other means to win his or her consent. Nevertheless this picture, given by the men, may be over bright, for it appears from close observation that the rights of the wives are much less than those of the men. She is not as free as the men are and it is not the custom for her to go here or there without hindrance. The woman has a certain amount of what might be called "personal property" and is not debarred from possessing it, though this is limited to her ornaments, her clothes and anything that she may make or acquire for her personal use. When the husband dies his property goes to the sons, but as long as she is living she must be supported by the sons. If there is no son, the property remains with her as long as she lives, but passes to the husband's male relatives at her death.

The Kol widow is not subjected to the same disabilities as are found among certain classes of Hindus. She is not required to shave her head, nor discard her metal bangles and ornaments, nor wear a white *sari*. If young she may marry again, usually not less than a year after her husband's death, and if she is elderly she may go to live with her son or relatives. Widows are expected to make some contribution for their keep and are often found searching for fuel or roots and leaves.

PLACE OF THE WIFE. After marriage the chief duties of the wife are to care for the house, prepare the meals and be a mother to her children. In between it is generally expected that she will find some means to supplement the family income, either by directly engaging in remunerative work, or by gathering roots and tubers from the jungle, cow dung from the roads and paths, or wood for the kitchen fire. Dried cow dung cakes are most generally used for the fire. She does the washing of clothes for herself and her children. Men wash their own clothes.

During her monthly courses there is some interruption of her regular work. During that time she may prepare her own food, but is not permitted to prepare food for another. The man must do his own cooking or make some other arrangements for the time being. There are other taboos at this time; she must never touch men's clothes nor should milk of any kind be touched by her. She may bring water from the well for her own use, but such water is taboo to any other member of the family.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

574 There is no claim of hospitality by a Kol on another Kol if he is unknown to the latter. Even though he be of the same *kurki* and knows relatives of the persons in the family and is in need of hospitality, he can expect none; any kindness shown him is an act of mercy. For this reason it is unusual for a Kol to ask hospitality at the hands of strangers. He asks for hospitality and shelter for the night only where he is known.

421 PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE. The average Kol does not own a great deal of property, but like most people he is interested in acquiring goods. Even marriage is commonly looked upon as the acquiring of a piece of property in the person of the wife. Almost nowhere are Kols 423 found to own land in the full sense of the term. Even the land upon [427] which their houses and rude huts are built is rented, the usual rent being one rupee a year. This is paid to the *malguzar* who does not disturb them further if the payments are regular. Away from the larger towns where land so often lies waste, it is usually found that no charges are made whatsoever.

422 The personal property held by Kols includes clothes, cooking utensils, tools and a few ornaments if there is money to buy such. Animals are also considered their own property. Apart from the clothes a person wears, the rest of the goods held by the Kols are con- [425 sidered as held by the family as a unit, and the head of the family can 593] sell or exchange only after consultation with the others. Upon the approach of his death the head of the family is expected to make a 763 statement concerning the disposition and division of the property. 428 However if he should suddenly die without making such provision, it does not follow that the elder son, or next in line, inherits the rights of the father concerning the disposition of the goods, and any division or exchange must be decided upon by the family as a whole with the 421 help of someone from the *panch*. While it appears that any member of 425 the family might purchase any article required, either for themselves or for the family, yet after purchase the article becomes the property of the family as a whole, and the purchaser has no right to resell or dispose of it without permission of the head of the family in consultation with the other members.

428 Upon the break-up of the family by death the sons are generally 763 supposed to have equal rights to the property. If, prior to his death, the deceased requested that the elder son should get the larger share, this is accepted. No distinction is said to be made between the children of the "married" wife and the "kept" woman if there are both in the family.

L:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

428 578 623 692

Should a dispute arise over the division of the property the matter must be settled by the *panch*. They will probably distribute it as equally as possible among the sons. Should this not be satisfactory to all concerned the sons have the right to appeal to the law courts of the land and have the matter settled there. Among Kols this is seldom, if ever, done.

421 562 591

The female members of the family do not enjoy equal rights with the males. A girl, when married, loses her membership in her family, and becomes a member of the new home. When she goes to live with her husband she takes nothing with her apart from her clothes and some personal adornments. It was noted by Russell and Hiralal that:

171 428

> Succession among the Mundas passes to sons only. Failing there, the property goes to the father or brother if any..... Daughters get no share in the inheritance and are allotted among the sons just like livestock. Thus if a man dies leaving three sons and three daughters and thirty head of cattle, on a division each son would get ten head of cattle and one sister; but should there be only one sister, they wait until she marries and divide the bride price.[1]

This quotation, from their article on the Kols, does not apply to the specific Kol tribe, but nevertheless we found instances of this tendency.

428 422 562

There is a difference of opinion as to the disposition of the property if there are no sons and only girls in the family. In many places it was affirmed that property could pass to the daughters if there were no sons. This was always her own property and nothing could alienate it from her, not even her marriage. When such a girl is married she takes her property with her and such property is considered her own and does not become a portion of her husband's wealth. If she should ever leave his home due either to divorce or quarrel she still remains its owner. Keeping it thus in her name and under her control is a protection to her in case of need. At her death, such property, if still existing, is supposed to revert to her father's family, his brothers or their heirs. When a wife dies her clothes are disposed of as noted in Chapter VII. Her metal jewellery is kept and may be worn by a new wife or passed on to the sons.

[586]

1 Russell and Hiralal, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 515.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

159 and five children, two from the first wife and three from the second and we are living happily.

MOTIRAM: A KOL WHO BECAME A PROSPEROUS FARMER

I was born in Kotmi (in North East Central Provinces near Pendra). My grandfather came to Kotmi from a place in Rewa State and when he arrived here he had with him my father who was still just a boy. My father was a hard working man and when his father died he had to shift for himself and found work as a coolie wherever he could find employment. Finally he got together enough money to be able to purchase the right to farm a small bit of land. This land was obtained from the *malguzar* who was very kind to him. When I was still a very small boy and not long after we got this land my grandmother, who had lived to a ripe old age, died happily for she saw my father established on a piece of land he could call his own. My father had two brothers who also owned a share of the land and [428] helped start the farming, but both of them died without issue, leaving the control of the land with us alone. As soon as I was old enough to work I would go out with my father to tend the cattle in the forests. Later on I went by myself. When I was about twenty years of age my father died, but I had been married before that and I began to control the land and care for it.

I am now quite independent and all along have never had to work as a coolie for another person. I am very proud of this fact. I even hire other people to work for me for I now have twenty-two acres of land with a good house of thick mud walls upon it and cattle [651] sheds as well. I have about thirty animals: goats, cows and bullocks. I pay a yearly land tax to the *malguzar* of Rs. 9, and a tax on my carts and animals which amounts to Rs. 7 per year.

My family consists of four sons and one daughter. Two sons and one daughter are now married and live here in the same home with [871] me. They help me care for the fields and crops. A younger son goes regularly to the Mission School in Kotmi and studies in the third Hindi [481] class. I am glad that this son can get an education and I pay the regular fees for him. He is very clever, walks two miles to school and is very regular in his attendance.

Although I have always had money for our food and have never suffered that way, still we have suffered much through illnesses and death. We go often to the Mission dispensary in Kotmi for our [165 163] medicines. My first wife died but not before giving birth to seven

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

children, three of whom are now dead. They died of fevers and smallpox. I was married a second time and this wife has had but one child—the boy who is now going to school.

People around here count me one of the rich and well-to-do farmers of Kotmi, even though I am now only 35 years of age. I am now engaged in a controversy over a piece of land and the *panch* has not been able to settle it to my satisfaction. I have threatened to take the matter to court and I hope the *panch* will do the right thing.

Phaggu: A Kol who Returned to the Old Paths[1]

My father was born in Barela and he held a few acres of land and farmed them and gained sufficient wealth to make us independent. He had nine children, five of them were boys and four were girls. Two of the sisters are now living, while two are dead. The time came when my father could not profitably farm his land so a Mohammedan of influence bought the field and father worked for him in the same field for forty or forty-five years. My elder brother is working as a factory coolie in Jubbulpore and I work as a coolie in Barela.

I too was born here in Barela. My father died when I was about thirty years of age. I did not get any share of my father's property, for when he died I was not at home but in Nagpur. I lived at home with my father for eighteen years and was then married. I started to school, but could not continue to study because the school master used to punish his students very much and once when he tried to punish me I tripped him up and he fell and hurt his head. I was then in the first Hindi. This was during the great famine.

By the grace of Narayan we did not die of hunger during this awful famine, for we had enough to eat, especially those first eighteen years when I never thought of hard work such as coolie work. When I was eighteen I took a rupee from father and set off for Nagpur and travelled without a ticket all the day. I would get off the train at every station and as the train started I used to get in another compartment. Thus I reached Balaghat and got a job in the Manganese mines where I worked for about ten years. I could not earn anything there except enough to feed me:

Jahan jao bhag,
Wahan lage Ag.
Age Age sab Sanichar ja raha hai
Tu kahan ja raha hai?

1. See Frontispiece and plate XXVII.